The Rothbard-Rockwell Report
TRIPLE R

SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS

Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

It's Christmas Eve at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., where the body of Woodrow Wilson, this century's first tyrannical president, lies encased in stone and guarded from vandals. President Clinton is sitting in the front row. During communion, a man approaches the president and whispers, "God will call you to account."

The Secret Service knows what to do. They grabbed the man, who was the Rev. Rob Schenck, took his wallet, ripped out his license, and grilled him. Schenck explained he was referring to Clinton's veto of the partial-birth abortion ban. The Secret Service had interpreted the phrase "God will call you to account" as a possible death threat.

But why? Why should God's judgment imply death for the head of state? In normal times, perhaps it would not. But these are not normal times. The Secret Service is aware that more and more Americans, especially Christian activists, have gone beyond disliking the government and beyond hating what Washington is doing to the country. They are beyond acknowledging the limits of democratic politics. They are considering alternatives strategies for dealing with radical evil. And that means revolution.

It's a measure of the desperation they feel, shared by a huge segment of the population. Having had the legislative and judicial means closed to them, and constantly feeling the oppression of a tyrannical executive, many in the Christian Right have refused to sit back and accept their fate. They are wondering whether this thing we call the government ought to be fundamentally rethought. They are beginning to ask–for the first time since the round of political revolt in the early 1970s–the central political question of our time or any time: can a tyrannical government be justly overthrown? And if so, is the U.S. government such a government?

Overthrow the Government?

Let's back up and ask the question more abstractly: can citizens ever justly topple governments? Of course. The answer should be obvious. On one level, it's preposterous that we should even have to ask the question. The very idea of democracy is that it allows for prescheduled revolutions at regular intervals and thereby prevents the accumulation of power by any one group. Sure it was a naive theory. The power elite found ways of working within and around elections to secure the growth and control of the central state. Nonetheless, the very heart of the theory of democracy is that governments must be periodically overthrown.

It's all the more true with totalitarian governments. We celebrated the death of the Soviet state, and of its client states. We cheered the just killing of Nicholas Ceausescu. We learn in ethics class that the people who tried to kill Hitler were heroes. American foreign policy openly asserts that Castro, Khadafi, and Saddam Hussein should be overthrown and probably killed. What were Reagan's beloved "freedom fighters" but guerrillas trying to topple governments by force?

Governments are not and should not be permanent, because they are not exempt from obeying the moral law. Unjust and immoral regimes are not blessed of God; sometimes the angels are on the side of the revolutionaries. The best example comes from American history. After all, this country was founded as an independent nation only after its distant rulers had been overthrown in a bloody conflict. The Declaration of Independence is nothing if not a tract on behalf of the eternal right of revolution, granted by God to a people who have suffered a "long train of abuses."

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INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

✦ **There's only one Ron Paul.** He believes in real free trade: no Nafta, no Gatt, no barriers, and no subsidies. At a December meeting of the Agri-Women of Matagorda County, Texas, he was asked by County Judge Loy Sneary why local rice farmers couldn't trade with Cuba, Iran, and Iraq. Then "we couldn't grow enough rice. We wouldn't need a farm program." That's right, said Ron. "Such embargoes only hurt American businessmen and farmers. And trading with a country like Cuba introduces them to our ideas." Besides, these embargoes are imposed to satisfy pressure groups in the U.S., not an alleged national interest.

✦ **Ron Paul's swearing-in** on January 7th was a great moment. Right off the bat, he was the one Republican to vote against a Gingrich budgetary scam called "dynamic scoring" designed to allow Congress to cook the numbers while keeping spending high. The *Triple R* was there to cheer him on.

✦ **Prince Charles on religion**: "The Church I love has been swept away by pathetic, politically correct progressives."

✦ **Promise Keepers,** the first religion founded by a football coach, has as one of its doctrines the unique sacredness of black-white marriage. After all, "Moses married a black woman"; the "lineage of Jesus" indicates "His interracial background"; and there is "one mixed-race marriage that all Christians will attend. Jesus Christ will take for Himself a decidedly mixed-race bride," the Church. Indeed, the "marriage of mixed-race couples" is only a taste of the "glory to come at that heavenly event" (*New Man*, Jan.-Feb. 1997).

✦ **How to steal an election.** There is massive evidence that the U.S. Senate election in Louisiana was stolen from good-guy Republican Woody Jenkins. But the proof has been deep-sixed on orders of Trent Lott, the Newt of the Senate, because "findings of fraud would heavily involve African-American voters" (Robert Novak, *Chicago Sun-Times*, Dec. 8, 1996).

✦ **The St. Petersburg race riots,** like all similar occurrences, dropped out of the news after we were all told that racist white cops murdered a black teenage motorist in a routine traffic stop. In fact, young Tyrone Mark Lewis (alias Michael Tay Cox) had stolen the car, had a long and violent criminal record, was driving under the influence of crack, and was a drug dealer with a stash of crack in the car. When the police forced him to stop after a 70 mph chase though residential neighborhoods, he refused to put down his window–and since his windows had black film on them, he could not be seen. He then tried to run over one of the police, who shot into the car. (Ken Hamblin, *Conservative Chronicles*, Dec. 11, 1996). When the cops were found not-guilty, the result was the usual burning, looting, and murdering, and shooting at white fire fighters. When they then left the area, it was considered another racist act.

✦ **Congratulations, Ron!** The *New York Times* reports (Jan. 3. 1997)–with a tear in its eye–that Ron Paul raised more money from individual donors than virtually every other Congressional candidate. Ron's total–$1.77 million–far outstripped Dick Armey's, Tom DeLay's, John Kasich's, and even Joe Kennedy's. The only ones to beat Ron–with the total backing of various aspects of the establishment–were Newt Gingrich and Charles Schumer.

✦ **Seniority wasn't much help to Ron Paul,** who should have had a subcommittee chairmanship (vetoed by Newt). But it did get him a nicer office. Offices are distributed by lottery among those of the same seniority. Because of his previous 3½ terms, Ron received first pick among third-termers, and got some good-natured ribbing over it. The next day, the *Washington Post* reported that his colleagues had yelled catcalls and insults at him!

✦ **The lying Newt,** whose wife is on retainer, through foreign aid, to a foreign government project, named last year's massive foreign-aid legislation the "Foreign Aid Reduction Act"! Why, by the way, isn't

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having your wife on the payroll of a foreign government that seeks U.S. favors considered a breach of "ethics"?

✦ **There are two models for peace,** editorializes the London *Times* (Dec. 9, 1996). One is the Congress of Vienna, when post-Imperial France was generously readmitted into the family of nations. The other is the Treaty of Versailles, when post-Imperial Germany was victimized and stigmatized. One led to peace, the other to war. The U.S., with its expansion of Nato right up to the Russian border, is deliberately humiliating a defeated nation, notes the *Times*. This can only lead to trouble.

✦ **Before you put tubes in your child's ears,** say some parents, try garlic. Many children are plagued with virulent ear infections, and are dosed again and again with high-powered antibiotics. Even when they work, these drugs can have serious side-effects, and are even correlated with learning disabilities. Instead, some parents swear by oil of garlic ear drops, available at the local health food store. Indeed, one of our favorite entrepreneurs, a giant of the hard-money investment community, swears by garlic for his own occasional ear, nose, and throat infections.

✦ **Evanescent Newt** is not, thank goodness, long for the speakership–he'll be out within a year–but one conservative favorite in line to replace him will never be elected. Why? Because this member of the leadership is a falling-down drunk.

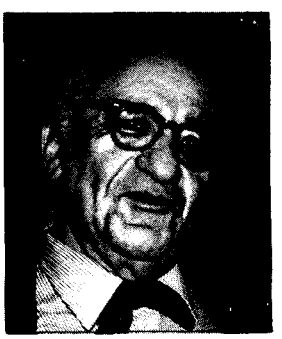
✦ **A secret financial history of the election follow-up:** John Judis's story on the U.S. deal with Japan (they buy our debt; we keep the yen down) produced a self-evident lie from the Treasury. Says Lawrence Summers, deputy secretary of the Treasury, "We don't make deals with other countries in private to purchase U.S. securities in return for some quid pro quo." Imagine that: everyone else in the world thinks that's the job description of Treasury's international division.

✦ **Do Western governments deal drugs?** An outrageous question, you say. Not at all. Israel smuggled tons of hashish from Lebanon into Egypt, according to the *London Times* (Dec. 22, 1996). The effort, Operation *Lahav* (Blade)–which took place from the early 1960s until at least the late 1980s–was revealed by eight former Israeli officers to *The Times*. It began when top Israeli commanders, trying to stop drug smuggling in Lebanon, realized they could "run the shipments themselves, flooding Egypt with cut-price narcotics and weakening the Egyptian army." When the shipments were made by car, an Israeli army colonel "sat beside a Lebanese drug dealer." When the shipments were made by sea, "Israeli navy combat boats escorted Lebanese drug boats." "I have no regrets," said a former colonel. We avoided "drug smuggling into Israel" and increased the "use of drugs within the Egyptian army."

✦ **Boyz will be boyz.** Michigan State English professor Geneva Smitherman's dictionary of black English is "full of B-boys, flyguys, niggaz and lames, all bumpin' their gums, poppin' their caps, and gettin' wid it." Whether "this makes Ebonics a separate language remains a sensitive question," notes the London *Times* (Dec. 29, 1996). In "black talk, you can buy a woof ticket (pretend to make a threat), read a road dog (complain to a friend in your car), knock boots (have sex), jump salty (get angry), feel froggy (want to fight), and git the ass (get angry again). You might be a BMW (black man working) living in a USG (United States ghetto), but you probably wish you were a BNIC (boss nigger in charge) in Chocolate City (a black-run town) with a stash of ya-yo (cocaine) and a nice ho (woman, from whore)."

✦ **White English?** Why are the official categories for English black and standard, but not black and white, or standard and substandard? Or, more to the point, why not English and Ebonics? Black English makes no more sense than white Swahili.

Dean of the Austrian School of Economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926–1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *Triple R* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.



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✦ **Our free press censored the amazing story** of former four-star Air Force General Lee Butler–retired commander of the Strategic Air Command–calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons as unneeded and immoral. City-destroying atomic bombs, vicious weapons only FDR and his "Manhattan Project" could have come up with, have always been evil by the laws of war, as outlined by St. Augustine and subsequent Christian thinkers. But only theologians usually discuss this. Even more amazing, Gen. Butler was joined by sixty other retired senior generals and admirals, including General Andrew Goodpaster, former aide to Eisenhower and former Nato commander, and General Charles A. Horner, head of the air war in the attack against Iraq. If necessary, they said, the U.S. should unilaterally dispose of its nuclear weapons, while keeping strong conventional forces. (Congratulations to C-SPAN, American's unbiased network, for broadcasting the press conference on Dec 4. 1996.)

✦ **Interracial dialog** at a Washington, D.C., post office: Customer approaches the window. Clerk: "If you need help, ring the bell." (The bell is on the counter near the clerk.) Customer: "I'd like to purchase some stamps." Clerk: "If you need help, ring the bell." Customer: "Could you please help me?" Clerk: "If you need help, ring the bell." Customer: "Why do I need to ring the bell if you are right here?" Clerk: "If you need help, ring the bell." Customer: "Can you please help me get some stamps? I'm in a hurry." Clerk: "If you need help, ring the bell. You won't get any help until you ring the bell BECAUSE I SAY SO." Customer rings the bell. Clerk: "Can I help you?"

✦ **Black firefighters hate John Wayne.** In Los Angeles, they've brought civil-rights charges against white firefighters for posting a photo of John Wayne in a firehouse. It seems that in a 1971 *Playboy* interview, the actor said: "I believe in white supremacy until the blacks are educated to a point of responsibility." Asked who would judge, Wayne answered: "The academic community has developed tests that determine whether the blacks are sufficiently equipped scholastically" (London *Times*, 12/15/96).

✦ **Communists on Psychoanalysis.** After the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin officially recognized Freudianism as "an antidote to bourgeois thinking," and funded it heavily, even setting up psychoanalytic kindergartens. But Stalin outlawed the entire movement. Now that era has officially ended, with a Yeltsin decree endorsing Freud (*New York Times*, Dec. 11, 1996).

✦ **Did friendly fire bring down TWA 800?** We've wondered ever since the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* denounced the widespread rumors to that effect. For those who tend not to trust the big media or the even U.S. government, we recommend Ian Goddard's excellent website (http://www.erols.com/igoddard/twa-fact.htm). He shows that the plane was shot down in a Navy missile-testing area that was "active" that night; that radar and satellite images show a missile striking the plane, and so do hundreds of eyewitnesses and their photos (confiscated along with their negatives by the FBI); that the Aegis missile cruiser the Navy said was too far away was definitely not (this is the same type of billion-dollar ship, by the way, that accidently shot down an Iranian civilian jetliner); and that the P-3 Orion aircraft in the area that the Navy says does not carry missiles in fact does. We've only scratched the surface, and Goddard includes links to other TWA sites. In other words, despite the orchestrated ridiculing, and hints that he was insane–a typical smear tactic for enemies of the state–Pierre Salinger was probably right. At a press conference on Nov. 8, 1996, reporter Hillel Cohen asked FBI assistant director James Kallstrom, "Why is the Navy not a suspect?" "Remove that man," Kallstrom yelled, and ten guards threw him out. As he was dragged out, Cohen said: "We want an independent investigation." We agree.

✦ **Poor Walt!** Since Walt Disney's death, his company and its subsidiaries have published such advocacy books for teenagers as *Growing Up Gay* and *Lettin' It All Hang Out* (on transvestitism); advertised a real phone sex line in its movie, "The Santa Claus"; sponsored a Gay and Lesbian Day at Disney World, complete with the public sex acts common to such events; released Satanic CDs like "Blackacidevil"; made dirty movies like "Pretty Woman" and violent ones like "Pulp Fiction"; and put increasing amounts of sex and anti-Christianism into its cartoons (*Washington Times*, Dec. 29, 1996).

✦ **Riding a taxi into D.C.**, the *Triple R* was reminded of Frank Chodorov's comparison of that city to a "painted harlot." The Stalinesque buildings may look impressive from a distance, but the closer you get, the more obvious is the corruption.

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✦**Virtually stupid.** The libertarian Mencken Award went this year to Andrew Sullivan's *Virtually Normal.* It's interesting to speculate about how the great libertarian would have reacted to an award in his name to a tract for homosexual marriage.

✦ **Homosexuals can marry,** points out Joe Sobran. But they must follow the laws of marriage: they can't marry children, close relatives, members of other species, or people of the same sex.

✦ **Newt is reckless with more than GOPAC.** He was recently observed by a British friend of ours in first class. All during the flight from D.C. to Atlanta, a "floozie was all-over him." When they got to Atlanta, he got off and she waited until everyone else left.

✦ **One of Bill Clinton's many floozies,** says the London *Sunday Telegraph* (12/15/96), is Marsha Scott, director of presidential correspondence. She reportedly "slept with Clinton to comfort him on the night of Vince Foster's death" and "openly boasted about her talent for pleasing the president."

✦ **Instead of delivering the mail,** the post office is making sure its 4,600-member police force won't offend any official victim groups, even off the job. It will now be a punishable offense for a postal inspector to oppose, say, women priests or gay marriage as a private individual (*Washington Times,* Dec. 31, 1996).

✦ **The inflation-indexed Treasury bonds are a racket.** It makes no sense to buy them so long as the Treasury bill remains a better deal even with inflation. With a yield spread of some 4 percent between them, it would take a 10-year indexed note a full 16 years to pay out at the same rate as the regular bond. And that's with the present CPI calculation; the new dumbed-down one will make it an even worse deal. And when the government increases the principal of the bond to adjust to inflation (sold in denominations as low as $50), the higher value bond is taxed as new income. Money man Rick Edelman (*Washington Times,* Dec. 6, 1996) has done the calculations to show that even under high inflation, you end up paying more in taxes than you can ever gain in interest. The bottom line is that this is a trick to 1) finance more government borrowing, 2) pay less in interest, 3) extract more tax revenue from you. Don't fall for it.

✦ **The Confederate flag must come down,** according to Doug Bandow of the Future of Freedom Foundation. "It is wrong to use as a public symbol something that a significant number of people find hurtful. A state emblem is supposed to unify, not divide" (*Washington Times,* Dec. 6, 1996). Oh, yeah? Well how come the non-divisive rule doesn't apply to, say, the M.L. King holiday or FDR's mug on the dime?

✦ **Public support for term limits has plummeted** by one-third since 1994, the year the Congressional turnover proved them to be superfluous. Of course, no self-respecting Constitutionalist would ever do anything to empower the executive and judicial branches over the legislative, as term-limits would. As the recriminations have begun, new details are emerging. This once grassroots movement was hijacked in 1992 by a Cato Institute-created group fronted by draft-registration resister Paul Jacob. The Cato Group, using its Wichita-based financial resources, bought out or took over most competitive groups, and imposed highly stringent requirements (they had to favor three 2-year terms for the House, while the less-responsive Senators would get 12 years). The purpose became clear only last year: the Cato Group, newly minted as US Term Limits, sought to force a constitutional convention through state initiatives. The effort was stopped in part by people who see such a convention as a threat to our remaining liberties (*JBS Bulletin,* December 1996).

✦ **Want more reasons why Promise Keepers,** the emotion-laden men's movement that meets in stadiums, is beloved? It's drifting further to the left with each passing day, to the cheers of the mass media. Thus the organization was among the first to seize on the "church fire" fraud trumped up by far-left organizations. The politics of PK are not only egalitarian, they are predictably statist. "Promises Keepers acknowledges and encourages the many efforts already responding to this crisis of hatred," such as those of "President Clinton, the U.S. Justice Department," and "the U.S. Treasury Department." Recall that these bureaucracies engaged in one of the more alarming violations of states rights in recent years, treating minor arsons, often by blacks, of mostly abandoned buildings, as major federal crimes, while ignoring the far more frequent arsons against white churches.

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✦ **Professional atheists are in a panic** over the fallout from the most recent O'Hair caper. Madalyn Murray O'Hair, the world's most famous non-believer, and a hate-filled witch to boot, didn't just disappear. Also missing is $675,000 from her organization.

✦ **How did Bill Kristol became America's most quoted pundit?** The *Nation* offers this explanation: "Like Kissinger, Kristol is a right-winger who pisses on other, less stylish [i.e. more authentic] right-wingers" Dec 23, 1996).

✦ **Another energy-led inflation?** Just as the government's favorite economists tell us there is no inflation, energy prices are zooming. For example, fuel oil and household fuel commodities ballooned 45 percent per annum in the second half of last year, while gas was up 25 percent. It may be the warning sign before the next inflationary storm. Meanwhile, people who want to gamble the present against the future are going deep on energy. Other items zooming in price include milk and cheese (8.3 percent this year), sugar and sweets (7.1 percent), and kids clothes (15 percent).

✦ **Missing the Great Energy Bull Market?** James Grant, in a rare positive recommendation, says take a look at Canadian Oil Sands Trusts and Athabasca Oil Sands Trust. Grant says they are "better than typical," high praise from the greatest bear of them all. "For all intents and purposes, the reserve body is inexhaustible. It already produces 12% of Canada's annual oil consumption.... For the yieldhog/energy bull on your holiday shopping list."

✦ **Why did the jury convict the Georgia Three?** These leaders of the Georgia militia were first blamed for the Olympic Park bombing. The government has been after them for some time, trumping up evidence and fanning flames of media hysteria in the days after their arrest. The only evidence against them from the "Barker Brothers," paid government informants who claimed that William McRanie, Robert Starr, and Troy Spain brought explosive materials to militia meetings. Sentence: 30 years. Feel safer on the streets? Their attorney was Nancy Lord, hotshot counsel and former Libertarian Party VP who distinguishes herself in that crowd by having a job and actually doing the work of liberty. It's her opinion that the jury convicted because it "could not believe that our government would manufacture a case" (*Media Bypass*, Jan. 1997). Where have those jurors been?

✦ **So Gingrich won't back gun control, huh?** That's what he promised last session. "As long as I am Speaker of this House, no gun control legislation is going to move in committee or on the floor of this House." But look at the Domestic Confiscation law he backs. It's the bill that strips the right of gun ownership from families in which anyone is convicted of domestic violence.

No one wants to speak for the rights of spouse abusers, but in truth this law could mean that up to 4 million U.S. citizens will have their rights stripped away by the feds–retroactively no less. And does this make sense? Wives enduring abuse will be prevented from owning a gun. Husbands who wives have tried to kill them can't own one. Parents whose kids are violent can't protect themselves. Plus, all law enforcement officers are exempt (after heavy lobbying by the NAACP and other black groups, since so many black cops would have lost their guns). Gun Owners of America is right that this bill is another step towards the total ban of private ownership of guns.

✦ **Bill Kristol's out on a limb again,** advocating a far-reaching agenda for the new Congress (*Weekly Standard*, Jan. 13, 1997). Actually, it's a tired accumulation of wonkitudes with anti-China imperialism snuck in. His domestic agenda has only two items. First, Republicans need "strategic discussion" on an "effort to curb the courts." Whew, what a gutsy guy. Second, Congress needs to fund a "school choice" welfare program to funnel new tax dollars to the poor who want to attend private schools at your expense. Far-reaching indeed, but as Kristol reminds us at the end of his article, "fortune favors the bold."

✦ **Sick of morality tales about McCarthyism?** Especially when there's a reign of terror going on right now to stamp out any dissent on official victim groups? Today, the elites justify blacklists, witch hunts, firings, smears, guilt by association, massive payoffs, suppression of free speech, attacks on academic freedom, and media hysteria as only appropriate, showing that their problem wasn't Tailgunner Joe, but the attempt to finger U.S. agents of international communism.

✦ **Want to write Ron?** His Congressional office address is: the Hon. Ron Paul, U.S. House of Representatives, 203 Cannon Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Phone him at 202-225-2831. RRR

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SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS
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In each of the cases cited, however, the example is either foreign or historical. That is to say, it is an abstraction with no direct bearing on modern American politics. The truly burning question of the day is closer to home. If a manifestly abusive government can be justly overthrown, is the U.S. government an example of such a regime? Has every other avenue for changing our course been closed? Should the American people be considering extreme measures to deal with their plight? Finally, is it *morally obligatory* for men of good will to pursue the path of revolution right here and now?

Should the American people be considering extreme measures to deal with their plight?

Doing What We Must

How odd that the word "revolution" now seems banal. Gingrich and the other phonies who led the 104th Congress beat the word into the ground, or what was left of it after the "Reagan revolution." They used it so much on talk shows and in speeches that it no longer seems serious, much less threatening. Leave it to Congress to make a "revolution" dull and uneventful. They stole the concept and redefined it to mean the status quo.

The last thing these creatures of the system want is a real revolution. The same goes for their intellectual backers, the neoconservatives. These people have never made a secret of their love of the welfare-warfare system and the egalitarian philosophy, and they've never uttered a word that strikes at the heart of the beast. For example, you'll never catch a John Kasich, Ralph Reed, or Norman Podhoretz criticizing the power of the Federal Reserve. They know the regime's basic rules, and abide by them because it supports them and their place in it.

Yet revolutionary rhetoric of the kind used by Gingrich and Co. carries with it certain consequences. One is that people can begin to expect and even demand an actual revolution. It doesn't require too much intelligence to realize when you've been sold a bill of goods by the political class. The revolution of Gingrich (and Reagan before him) is about as real as anything else coming out of Washington. Like every other program, it ends by benefitting the rulers over the ruled. That fact then becomes fuel for more anger and more radical action.

Catching On

For at least 15 years, the Christian Right, especially its Catholic element, has put its larger agenda, often quite radical, on hold for the sake of unity within the conservative movement. These "theocons," so dubbed by Jacob Heilbrunn in his now famous *New Republic* essay, have worked closely with the neocons on issues such as the Cold War, prayer in schools, the Drug War, and tepid economic subjects like bringing the deficit down.

In Heilbrunn's view, this alliance of "the best of friends" has been mutually beneficial. The neocons made the theocons "intellectually respectable" and the theocons made the neocons "intellectually important." So long as the Cold War raged, the democratic process offered hope, and the federal judiciary seemed reformable, the compact continued. But now, in Heilbrunn's view, that alliance has begun to break down. The theocons are saying something that "directly threatens the entire neoconservative philosophy."

And what is this thing that is unsayable and unthinkable? That the present U.S. government may be illegitimate when judged according to the eternal law, and therefore that it may be justly resisted and even overthrown. The theocons have gone beyond the desire to watch fake revolutions from a distance, and now want to bring about a real one through direct action. Thus the rise of the "anti-American temptation," in the smear phrase of the *Weekly Standard*.

Chuck Colson of Watergate fame, Richard John Neuhaus (who may now deserve some new respect), James Dobson (long praised in these pages), and other Christian

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thinkers have compared the U.S. government to the Nazi regime and openly argued in the journal *First Things* for radical measures to end the tyranny. As Paul Gottfried reported last month, this prompted some neocons on its board to resign, causing the first interesting war on the mainstream right in years.

The Heilbrunn Theses

To explain these developments, Heilbrunn weaves a quickie history of the post-war right, pitting W.F. Buckley's and Irving Kristol's pragmatism against the radicalism of Buckley's brother-in-law Brent Bozell (a traditionalist Catholic who favored overthrowing the government) and the Christian anti-abortion and anti-state "extremists." For thirty years, the fuddyduddies and the extremists have largely worked together because some issues (the Cold War) seemed of overriding importance as compared with strategic differences.

In Heilbrunn's view, however, those days are over. The obvious differences between the camps (one's principled, one's not) are overwhelming their ability to cooperate. This frightens the daylights out of left-liberals like him, just as it does the neocons. With the separation, says Heilbrunn, the extremist element has become a real threat, especially as it no longer relies on neocon intellectual forces and has turned inward.

Heilbrunn's article illustrated his naivete about the players (for example, he slights the contributions of R.J. Rushdoony in radicalizing the Christian Right), but he's far from all wrong. There is indeed a deep fissure between the neocons and theocons. This is not a subject homogenizers like Bill Rusher want discussed in public (which explains why he attempted, in an op-ed on the subject, to deny that the split amounted to anything). To understand the fissure doesn't require deep philosophical insight into the meaning of Thomism versus Straussianism, as Heilbrun suggests. It's as simple as understanding the respective views of government.

The theocons see that government, that is, power, is not the highest authority. There is a higher law, of which God is the author, and to which all governments must be responsive. Call it the natural law (Catholics), call it the basic moral principles of the Decalogue (evangelicals), or call it God's written law (Reconstructionists), governments cannot systematically violate it and expect Christians to see them as godly. If governments are hostile, to the point of inhibiting families and the Church from fulfilling their mandate, there is no earthly or heavenly reason why they can't be overthrown.

Any principled conservative regards the U.S. government as having been illegitimate since Lincoln's War.

The greatest source of ungodly government for Christians who think this way is, of course, the federal judiciary. Black-robbed dictators all over the country have gone way beyond prohibiting creches in public and prayer in the schools. They forced all states to legalize abortion, and then began to override states rights and mandate immoralism in a whole host of other areas. When the people attempt to shake off the tyranny (by, for example, voting to prohibit the extension of anti-discrimination law to homosexuals), the federal courts override the people's will. This is not only tyranny, but ungodly tyranny, and deserves to be resisted and quite possibly overthrown.

In stark terms, this was the upshot of the *First Things* symposium that got the neocons' dander up. The contributors concluded that government can go too far in violating higher law, and that such a government loses its moral legitimacy and can be disobeyed. No big deal to *Triple R* readers. In fact, the contributors said no more than most Protestant and Catholic theologians have said throughout the ages. But it is a very big deal to people who have long thought of themselves as being in the neocon orbit.

Not that Fr. Neuhaus and his friends have come full circle. Any principled conservative regards the U.S. government as having been illegitimate since Lincoln's War, or at a minimum since the New Deal. Recent judicial outrages only prove the point. Most of these particular theocons back such things as anti-discrimination law, *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, a moderately large welfare state, and the like, and would never think to denounce the U.S. government as a criminal enterprise for, for example, its foreign aggression.

Nonetheless, the theocons have made the crucial jump to seeing the problem not as just the courts, but as government tyranny itself. They remain woefully naive about this

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tyranny, but nonetheless are convinced of its immorality. Most importantly, they are beginning the intellectual work necessary, in the *Triple R* phrase, to resist, revolt, and rebuild.

Neocons, on the other hand, see government–especially the U.S. government–as the most essential social institution, and one that they should always seek to control and never harm. And indeed, the U.S. government is largely doing the neocons' will. Masquerading as a conservative means, of course, that you must critique certain aspects of government policy, complain it's too big, call for sector-specific cuts, and the like. The difficult balancing act for a neocon is to offer credible attacks on big government without helping to undermine public confidence in it.

The upshot of the Heilbrunn article is that the neocons have not succeeded in this gamble. While trying to shore up their conservative bona fides (if only for strategic reasons), they have unwittingly provided the reactionary theocons with credibility and rationales to pursue a dangerously anti-government agenda. Heilbrunn regards this as the neocons' major strategic misstep, one they should have been able to foresee before they embarked on this project. And as a left-liberal himself, he is right to feel affinity for the neocons, cheering them even as he upbraids them for their shortsightedness.

The Jefferson Connection

In passing, Heilbrunn mentions the long-running controversy in conservative circles over the place of the Declaration of Independence in the American political drama. But he fails to follow up what turns out to be the heart of the controversy over whether governments can be illegitimate.

In brief, the issue is this. For years, neocon intellectuals such as Harry Jaffa have insisted that the Declaration–and not the Constitution–is the founding document. It was this document that Lincoln, who is for neocons a god walking on earth and the true founding father, invoked in his Gettysburg Address as the reason slaves ought to be freed and the union preserved. The entire Declaration? No, just the part in which Jefferson asserts that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

To Jefferson, people are likely to err on the side of not overthrowing governments often enough.

This claim, widely accepted as official doctrine in neocon circles, was definitively refuted by Mel Bradford and Clyde Wilson, among many others. These traditionalists pointed out that this one slice of the Declaration was used as a propaganda tool by Lincoln as a way of justifying an aggressive war against a region with a Constitutional right to secede. That no more makes the Declaration a founding document that somehow supersedes the Constitution than any other piece of political rhetoric can reverse real history.

But here again, the ceaseless invocation of the Declaration by the neocons has had an unintended effect. It caused people to revisit the Declaration, and not just Lincoln's favorite part. It takes only one reading of Jefferson's great manifesto to realize that it is no hymn to equality; after all, it refers to the Indians as "merciless savages." In fact, the Declaration is an ironclad case, built on logic and ancient political wisdom, showing why it is perfectly moral to overthrow an oppressive government.

Jefferson used the language of equality as introductory material to underscore the idea that no king–or indeed any government official–can be considered exempt from the moral law. But then he gets right to the issue. "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," in order to "secure" the rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." So "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it." These words, some of the most radical penned in the history of the English language, are exactly on target–and completely contrary to the neocon claim that some governments are exempt from this rule.

Notice that Jefferson's case is not initially against the British government. His case is based on the natural law, meaning it is applicable to all times and to all places.

Jefferson cautions that government should not be overthrown "for light and transient causes." But, he adds, this is hardly a danger, since "all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed." In other words, to Jefferson, people are likely to err on the side of not overthrowing governments often enough.

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For when governments are guilty of a "long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object" (say, higher and higher taxes), which demonstrates a "design to reduce" the citizens "under absolute despotism," "it is their right, it is their *duty*, to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

It is only at the end of this demonstration that Jefferson concretizes the case for revolution, with these dramatic words: "Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government." What follows are the "facts" submitted "to a candid world." It's a great list of government crimes, one which applies nearly across the board to our present situation. In fact, most Americans today could tell stories of tyranny that would astound Jefferson.

It's fashionable among liberals to dismiss the Declaration as a propaganda ploy to justify an upper-class power grab, a position that Murray Rothbard smashed in his four-volume history of colonial America called *Conceived in Liberty*. But that's hardly the point. It is the neocons themselves who have told us for two decades how crucial the Declaration is to the "American experiment," as they like to say. Now they are shocked that some people have read it and drawn from it the lesson that governments are not immutable moral entities, but things which should be destroyed and recreated according to whether they serve the people that give them power.

The Ancient Question

Closely connected with the question of government legitimacy and revolution is the ancient question of tyrannicide. In short, can the king be justly killed? If so, must the whole people agree to the project, or can a small group, or even one person, do it? It turns out that natural law adherents, both Protestant and Catholic, have historically been the most passionate advocates of the view that citizens can, and should, kill the king if he is a tyrant.

A century of experience has taught us that there is no necessary contradiction between democracy and tyranny.

Radical Huguenot thinkers of the 16th century developed an elaborate theory of the right of tyrannicide as part of their attempted religious conquest of Europe. Francois Hotman's *Francogallia* written in the 1560s, the anonymous *Political Discourses* of 1574, and Philippe Du Plessis Mornay's *Defense of Liberty against Tyrants* show that the post-Calvin, Calvinist tradition was nearly libertarian in its view of the state. In fact, Calvin's own leading discipline and successor, Theodore Beaz, said the people must always be considered as prior to the leader.

But these early writings stopped short of defending an individual's right to act alone against a tyrant. The analysis was extended by the Scottish Calvinist George Buchanan, whose *The Right of the Kingdom in Scotland*, was published in 1579. For Buchanan, the right to dislodge a ruler rests "not only with the whole body of the people," but also "with every individual citizen." Even when some "from amongst the lowest and meanest of men" decides "to revenge the pride and insolence of a tyrant," such an action can be "judged to have done quite rightly."

The most thorough and learned advocate of tyrannicide during this period was Juan de Mariana, Jesuit theologian and philosopher who taught at the University of Paris and lived from 1536 to 1624. He said that the people have a right to reclaim political power when the king or ruler abuses what is entrusted to him. His theories were spelled out in *De Rege* (*On Kingship*), published in 1599.

Like Buchanan, Mariana said that the right to kill the tyrant rested not with a group but with any individual citizen. And he went even further in saying anyone may do so by any means necessary. Mariana said such a person should first try to assemble the people to get their backing for his cause, and if he doesn't have time, he should at least consult "erudite and grave men."

He anticipates Jefferson's defense of this extreme position by pointing out that very few people are willing to risk their lives in this way. Most tyrants throughout history have not died violent deaths. But if the king is constantly afraid that he is going to get his throat cut by a random member of the citizenry, it might make him think twice before raising taxes.

Mariana also anticipated Jefferson's strategy of listing the crimes of kings and governments that should be considered signs of tyranny. His words read like a 16th-century Declaration:

The tyrant "seizes the property of individuals and squanders it, impelled as he is by the unkingly vices of lust, avarice, cruelty, and fraud....

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Tyrants, indeed, try to injure and ruin everybody, but they direct their attack especially against rich and upright men.... They consider the good more suspect than the evil; and the virtue which they themselves lack is most formidable to them.... They expel the better men from the commonwealth on the principle that whatever is exalted in the kingdom should be laid low.... They exhaust all the rest so that they can not unite by demanding new tributes from them daily, by stirring up quarrels among the citizens, and by joining war to war. They build huge works at the expense and by the suffering of the citizens. Whence the pyramids of Egypt were born....

"The tyrant necessarily fears that those whom he terrorizes and holds as slaves will attempt to overthrow him.... Thus he forbids the citizens to congregate together, to meet in assemblies, and to discuss the commonwealth altogether, taking from them by secret-police methods the opportunity of speaking and freely listening so that they are not even allowed to complain freely...."

The intellectual history on the moral right to overthrow the government is lengthy and exciting (A good part of it is covered in Rothbard's magnificent *History of Economic Thought*.) The fascinating thing about the debate is its capacity to separate the advocates of liberty from those of tyranny.

The intellectual history on the moral right to overthrow the government is lengthy and exciting.

It comes down to this. If there is no right to overthrow the government (for either individuals or groups), there is no check on the eternal itch of government for oppression. Without such a check, tyranny would forever be the norm.

If there is such a right, under what conditions may it be exercised? If the Iraqis have the right to overthrow Saddam (as everyone in the State Department seems to believe), why shouldn't Alaskans have the right to throw off the oppression of Washington, D.C.?

It does no good to say, as neocons do, that democratic regimes are always legitimate whereas autocratic or unelected ones are not. After all, history's premier example of a leader who could have been justly assassinated is Adolf Hitler, and he was elected as democratically as Bill Clinton, if not more so. A century of experience has taught us that there is no necessary contradiction between democracy and tyranny, just as it is not impossible for a military autocrat to be respectful of people's rights.

The American Experience

The political heritage of the American colonies teaches one overwhelming lesson. It is that overthrowing existing rulers on grounds that they are oppressive, and replacing them with new political institutions that abide by the people's will, is not immoral or even unwise. And sometimes it is a duty. No political thinker is as famed throughout the world as Thomas Jefferson, and it was his manifesto on behalf of revolution that made him famous.

Thus we can account for the establishment's mad scramble to smear Jefferson and claim that his genius and accomplishments are overblown. The new Connor Cruise O'Brien book doing just that has received unexpected praise from neoncon quarters (look no further than Richard Grenier's review in *The Washington Times*). The definitive case against Jefferson is that his writings provide fodder for such radical groups as Christian Right radicals and militia members. But those who consider this proof of Jefferson's evil merely reveal themselves as un-American.

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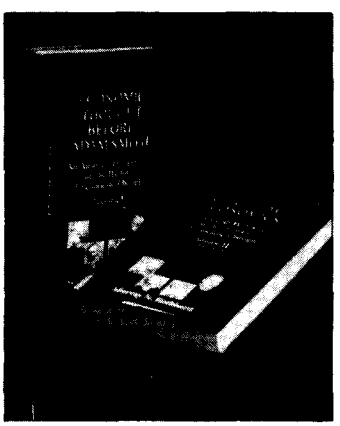

Murray N. Rothbard's massive, two-volume *History of Economic Thought*, printed and bound for the ages, is available from the Center for Libertarian Studies, P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011. Send your check for $199 (including U.S. shipping), or phone 800-325-7257 to charge to your credit card, and we'll include a $49 bonus: a free one-year *Triple R* subscription or a free one-year extension to your subscription.

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There's another lesson here. The firestorm of controversy ignited by *First Things* was entirely unexpected. The magazine has been coming out for years, and has never received this kind of attention (the one exception being the long, excellent cover story in defense of the Branch Davidians).

This is once again proof that the most threatening intellectual ammunition that can ever be aimed at a ruling elite is libertarian and anti-government. If that ammunition is also rooted in the traditional religious faith still held by the vast majority of the American people, the result is an intellectual edifice capable of bringing about real change. The neocons know this, and that's why they decided to suppress this school of thought before, as Heilbrunn quoted Midge Decter, it strengthened "the devil's hand."

It is precisely this radical and threatening approach that every great intellectual in American history, from Jefferson to Rothbard, used to great effect. If there comes a time when conservatives get serious about making real change in American political life, they will adopt such a hard-edged, right-wing libertarianism. It was this approach of the freshmen in the 104th Congress that brought down the establishment against them.

A prediction: it's only a matter of time before it will be considered an act of treason to quote Jefferson's words from the Declaration. Doing so might invite investigations from the Secret Service, an increasingly paranoid operation bent on suppressing our right to tell our rulers what we think of them. But when that day comes, the "long train of abuses" won't have merely begun. It will be nearing its end. RRR

THE NEXT FRONTIER

Michael Levin

A statement by President Donna Shalala on the occasion of her signing the Marital Discrimination Act, April 1, 2006.

It is with great pride, and a deep sense of satisfaction at our nation's taking another step toward its still-distant goal of equality of opportunity for all, that today I sign the Marital Discrimination Act. From this moment forward, discrimination in marriage will no longer be tolerated. The ugly blot of racism will have been erased from one more national institution.

Race can no longer be a factor in choosing a marital partner.

Let us now be clear about the intent of the MDA. In saying that race can no longer be a factor in choosing a marital partner, it does not forbid white people from marrying other whites. That is a canard spread by white supremacists and their dupes. The new act only forbids individuals to marrying each other *because* they are white. If a white man and woman are attracted to each other for reasons other than race, the federal government has no objection to their union. We have no desire to limit legitimate marriage; we wish only to banish the ugly practice of exclusionary marriage, and protect vulnerable minorities from discrimination.

We may take inspiration from the visionary words of the great sage and legal theorist Richard Wasserstrom: "a nonracist society would be one in which the race of an individual would be the functional equivalent of the eye color of individuals in our society today."[1] I ask each man here today whether he knows his wife's eye color. I'll bet he doesn't. Well, in a nonracist society he wouldn't be aware of her race, either. So why should he care more about race than eye color? The MDA requires nothing that decent people do not already understand.

Love, like hiring, should be based on intrinsic personal qualities related to institutional goals. Forty years of civil rights litigation has established that hiring criteria must reflect business necessities, and now we have decided that mating criteria must reflect marital necessities. Race is not an intrinsic quality, and, despite the claims of racists, has no relation to the aims of marriage.

Now, let me quickly make it clear that I disapprove of the functions of marriage, to enslave women and produce new workers for capitalism. Still, until the average American can be induced to abandon these functions (Andrea Dworkin, our new Secretary of Liberation, is working on ways to bring this about), let us recognize that their fulfillment has nothing to do with race. So, just as society has wisely excluded race from employment decisions, it has now ruled that race cannot inform marital decisions either.

[1] As Dave Barry would say, we are not making this up. There really is a Richard Wasserstrom, and he really wrote this sentence, and many more like them, in a real essay in the *UCLA Law Review*.

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Right-wing types have complained about what they call "government intrusion" into the "intensely private" decision to marry. How ironic—the same people who oppose a woman's right to choose whether to terminate a pregnancy have concocted a "right to choose" one's mate.

The fact is, government already is involved in marriage. It grants licenses; it adjusts income tax obligations to marital status; it enforces alimony judgments; it recognizes prenuptial agreements. And people take honeymoons, do they not? And aren't their honeymoons often out-of-state? Well, let us not forget that the commerce clause of the Constitution grants the federal government the right to regulate interstate trade.

Shall Washington then stand idly by while couples rush across state lines to consummate racist marriages in the spray of Niagara Falls? Why, every time they cross the Canadian border for a better view of this scenic wonder, the International Court of Justice could become involved! By staving off UN intervention, the MDA actually protects our national sovereignty.

And think of the benefits the MDA will bring. Conservatives who oppose this law also bemoan the large number of unmarried black males and the high rate of black illegitimacy. Not that the MDA will in any way affect anyone but racists, but under it, we can expect many more African-American men to be married, as white women are encouraged by law to take another look at them.

Giving wide discretion to the judiciary, the MDA leaves open whether a person may manifest what legal theorists call "aversive racism"[2] by rejecting a proposal of marriage for race-based reasons. If the courts in their wisdom decide that such a rejection is itself discriminatory, white women will have a more limited range of reasons (dare I say excuses?) to turn down proposals from African-Americans. And obviously, as more black men marry, more of their offspring will be legitimate.

Just as society has wisely excluded race from employment decisions, it has now ruled that race cannot inform marital decisions either.

In addition, any measure encouraging black men to marry carries health benefits. The average black male lives five fewer years than his white counterpart, and is more subject to stress-related complaints like high blood pressure (because of racism). Furthermore, the life expectancies of unmarried men are shorter than those of married men.

By getting more black men married, the MDA yields a double-barreled increase in black life expectancy. And it addresses another problem of African-Americans newly discovered by our deepest thinker[3]: that they feel unloved. Well, think how much more loved blacks will feel when more white women marry them. Think of the gains in black self-esteem, which will doubtless reduce crime in the black community. I can only conclude that opponents of the MDA wish to see black men dead, unhappy, or in jail.

Many irresponsible rabble-rousers have raised the entirely spurious issue of enforcement. How, they ask, can the government tell whether race is part of a couple's decision to marry? Obviously, in the same way that discrimination in voting and employment is detected: by the totality of the circumstances. And here the statistical regulations issued by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission can be our guide. There are about seven whites for each black in the U.S., so if marital choice were race blind, one out of every eight whites would marry a black, and seven out of eight blacks would marry whites. Regrettably, this is nowhere near the case now.

The Justice Department, using regional population data and sophisticated statistical techniques (which carpers call unintelligible), will presume discrimination when the number of same-sex marriages falls more than 20% below what race-blind mate choice would produce, given the available number of potential mates of each race. And, when discrimination is presumed, municipalities will be ordered to cease issuing marriage licenses until mixed-race applications bring the ratio in line with nondiscriminatory expectations.

Happily, it will not be necessary for the federal government to oversee every marriage license bureau in the country to insure compliance. The MDA permits "interested parties" to sue state and county governments in federal court, and, in keeping with the 1991 Civil Rights

[2]We are not making this up, either; Jody Armour used this expression in a recent *Stanford Law Review* article.

[3]This is also for real. Cornell West says it in *Race Matters*.

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Restoration Act, the burden of proof in such actions lies on local governments to prove they have not discriminated.

Should current marriage patterns be found to be due to past actions of local government, such as the indiscriminate granting of same-race licenses, the courts may order affirmative action, such as the invalidation of all same-race licenses granted during the previous decade. A similar statistical rule will apply to remarriage, with individual prosecutions possible if there is, say, a second marriage to a person of the same race.

Matrimony is rife with unconscious, institutional racism that must be overcome.

In the memorable words of Lyndon Johnson, it is not enough to have equality in theory; we must have equality in fact and in effect. Matrimony is rife with unconscious, institutional racism that must be overcome; high-school boys usually date girls of their own race; tv and movies do not show enough interracial couples. Why, the average child's parents are of the same race. With a home environment like that, what can one expect? A person with all the good will in the world will just assume that the "right" person for him should be of the same color as himself, and thereby stigmatize an entire race. In fighting these pernicious influences, the MDA shows how law can educate at the same time that it regulates.

While steadfastly ignoring white racists when the MDA was debated, we sympathized with the concern of African-American spokespersons, such as Vice President Jackson, that forbidding blacks to marry a disproportionate number of blacks would amount to genocide. So I am pleased to announce that last-minute negotiations resulted in an amendment to the MDA so that, and I quote, "marital discrimination shall not be interpreted to mean that African-Americans may not marry members of their own race in any number."

Centuries of slavery and racism have made it important for African-Americans to seek comfort with their own, and the government has no right to tell them they cannot. Narrow-minded bigots will call us inconsistent, but there is a plain difference between black preferences for blacks and white preferences for whites: the former are a legitimate response to oppression, while the latter spring from an evil desire to oppress. Naturally, one but not the other is permitted.

Ultimately, of course, simply changing people's behavior is no answer to the profound racial difficulties we face. True diversity, with the strength it brings, requires change in attitudes. We must put ill-will behind us. A major blow to race hatred, of course, was the summary execution of fifty suspected church burners in '03, but old animosities die hard. Penalizing the ugly urge to marry homoethnically is another such blow against them.

But I must admit, sadly, that the MDA does not go nearly far enough. It still allows marital partners to choose each other on the basis of sex. So I hereby call on Congress to pass a successor to the MDA, preventing sexual discrimination in marriage. RRR

REVISION BY ANY OTHER NAME

Paul Gottfried

This is the season for Holocaust revisionism...by liberals and neoconservatives. Contrary to Elie Wiesel's maxim about not comparing the Holocaust to any other catastrophe, this comparison is made by those who warn most indignantly against it. Wiesel himself has made it repeatedly, when protesting South African apartheid, calling for military intervention in Bosnia, or perhaps whenever sufficiently exercised.

Holocaust comparisons are for global democrats a further rhetorical trick, after comparing someone they dislike to Hitler: if that parallel fails to evoke the intended response of military force, one may proceed to take the Holocaust in vain for the nth time.

The most unsettling use of the Nazi parallel known to me took place this June, when the New York City Board of Rabbis proclaimed the burning of Southern black churches over the preceding year to be the "*Kristallnacht*" of American blacks.

As someone whose family actually endured that orchestrated wave of Nazi violence, I was jarred by this comparison. But it was politically correct and therein lay its acceptability. One is allowed to compare Nazi atrocities to far less significant occurrences, as long as one shows sympathy for a designated victim,

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or targets a white Christian society. In the process Nazi crimes undergo a radical revisionism.

If *Kristallnacht* was no more than what happened to some highly combustible Southern churches this year, often burned by blacks themselves, or if Auschwitz only foreshadowed apartheid, what does this say about the presumed enormity of Nazi crimes?

Even more questionable has been the recent practice of changing the lists of those who caused or suffered from Nazi misdeeds. As late as the early sixties accounts of the Nazis, including the one in Howard Sachar's *History of the Jewish People*, underlined that Hitler and his companions were anti-Christian as well as anti-Jewish. Allegedly, they killed Jews, for–among other reasons–corrupting Aryan peoples with Christian (Semitic) beliefs.

Nazis were also accused of persecuting groups beside the Jews, most notably Poles and Gypsies, but were not condemned for killing some homosexuals. Here one typically encountered the view that Nazi war criminals like Goering were promiscuously homosexual themselves. In fact, homosexual rites took place among the Nazi Brown Shirts as part of an attempt to dechristianize the German nation.

Homosexual rites took place among the Nazi Brown Shirts as part of an attempt to dechristianize the German nation.

Finally, distinctions continued to be made well into the sixties between ordinary Germans and genocidal Nazis. From Hannah Arendt and Carl Friedrich (both Nazi refugees) to liberal sociologist David Riesman, a view prevailed that most Germans had no sympathy for Nazi violence. To the extent they went along with Hitler's regime, they did so for other reasons: initially material desperation, and eventually fear of Nazi terror and the conditions of total war into which the Germans were drawn.

By now the story of Nazi war crimes has been altered. The perpetrators were ordinary Germans, who gladly became, in Jonathan Goldhagen's phrase, "Hitler's willing executioners." Germans hastened to carry out the Holocaust because of their particularly dangerous exposure to Christianity, a religion irrevocably steeped in anti-Semitism.

Indeed Christians had been itching to exterminate Jews for thousands of years, but had to wait for Hitler to get their chance. Then at last they were able to kill Jews together with homosexuals, whom Alan Dershowitz stresses were co-victims with the Jews during the outburst of gentile intolerance associated with Hitler. Dershowitz also points out in the (properly titled) *Chutzpah* that two

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and a half million Polish Catholics were "selectively murdered" during the Nazi occupation, but unlike homosexuals, were not earmarked for destruction.

Far from the isolated ravings of an embittered Slavophobe, Dershowitz's statements point to an anti-Polish revisionism which has come to include inflated figures for Polish crimes against Jews. By now the figure for Jews murdered by Polish anti-Semites at the end of the war has crept up to 3,000 in the *New York Times* and *Toronto Star*. The head of the Canadian Jewish Civil Rights Educational Foundation, Bert Raphael, has expressed the sentiment in back of these charges when he observes: "Poland created a climate that made the Nazis feel comfortable in building many of their concentration camps in Poland."

While there is a history of mutual dislike between Polish Jews and Polish Catholics, the charges that now crop us are both bizarre and exaggerated. Close to 3 million Poles lost their lives in the Second World War, either fighting the invasion and occupation of their country by Nazis, or as victims of Nazi policies.

Of all countries occupied by Hitler, Poles, whom the Nazis planned to turn into slave-laborers, fought the most heroically and were guilty of the least collaboration. They were also credited with saving at least 40,000 Jewish lives, and as Simon Wiesenthal has pointed out, Poles who hid Jews risked certain death if apprehended.

The one documented example of a postwar Polish pogrom against Jews, at Kielce, in Central Poland, in July 1946, was not a random occurrence. This event, which claimed 46 Jews, was demonstrably incited by the Soviets. It involved Russian agents in an area controlled by the Soviet army, who turned a Polish mob against Jews rumored to be colluding with the Soviet occupiers.

Since there was considerable collaboration of this kind, the charge seemed to have credibility; and the Polish rioters by their action advanced the Soviet purpose, of arousing Western sympathy while they seized Poland through violence. This was the way that the riot at Kielce until recently was interpreted, as an isolated outbreak of anti-Semitism which occurred with Soviet incitement. It is also the way that the Nazi-hunter Wiesenthal described it during an interview-broadcast to Poland (July 1989).

Subsequent attempts to revise this account and to give the Poles the same status as their Nazi oppressors, highlights the lunacy of the new Holocaust revisionism. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the liberal left is free to turn its attention to what really counts for its followers, the encircling danger of Nazism.

Hardly seen as a dated problem from more than fifty years ago, Nazism for the left is always eating away at the moral entrails of our society. It is exemplified by immigration restrictionists, believing Christians, homophobes, and sexists; and its ranks once included all non-leftist Germans and their Christian accomplices throughout the West.

The web of Nazi complicity has been steadily extended to include Polish Catholics and other Nazi victims.

Only the American government and American public opinion are seen as equal to the Nazi danger, providing both are under liberal control. Once properly educated, they may be able to keep the world safe from the fascist temptation.

Militant anti-Christians of course benefit from this condemnation of the Christian West as complicit in the Holocaust. But the current anti-Nazism, with its rearrangeable Holocaust narrative, is far more sinister. It is a dishonest or insane effort to discredit our civilization as the bearer of a moral and religious heritage; and it obsessively seeks to identify any alternative to left liberalism with Nazi genocide.

Toward this end, the web of Nazi complicity has been steadily extended to include Polish Catholics and other Nazi victims; while homosexuals, who figured prominently in the Nazi leadership, have been turned into co-sufferers with the Jews of Nazi "intolerance." Not surprisingly, the politically correct Holocaust museums have championed these revisionist acts: they have played to postwar Polish anti-Semitism and the alleged final solution for homosexuals, while giving very short shrift to Polish suffering at Nazi hands.

Holocaust revisionism, with the obligatory ideological slant, has become institutionalized, and seems in no danger of losing its governmentally-financed grip. RRR

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